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[For further information concerning the lineage/tib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/20 cont./

613 591 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 613 614 [115] [829] Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

The Boni have the idea that their kin group are lineages in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 613 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 613 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit without any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 602 613 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know [814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 613 614 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3/A (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

3/A [See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

602 613 614 191

1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 602 613 614 284 571

/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 613 614

Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II. Asini);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

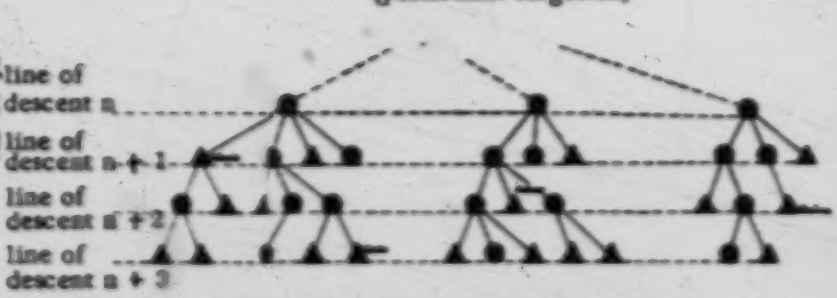

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 184 174 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientnes of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaliton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as
● [601] [784] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but
613 614 562 123 there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 16 -- Analyst]

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 671 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly, appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides [578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 602 571 One might think that the physical separation of the two groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 614 591 199 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] [621] [578] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who belonged to this group, was on his return covered with honors, endowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight, but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 784 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the pincipal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring togeher, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced th custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the ppulations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conceptin is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the fdlowing manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down wis her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must rturn there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation aloe the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, whichdoes not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to wich it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of i a rigorous principle of customary law.

● 601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinshipterms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends onlyn the number of
611 generations separating from the foundress. Tt sons of women descended from the foundress in uterine line re regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 /31 cont./
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Baala, (brother)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense.
Sisa, (sister)	Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiyu, tiya, (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaãta, gaãma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Avo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju lo): Fintimah
602 (F7) considers Aliki (E23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
613 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (E3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sosoman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Sosoman is 20 years younger than he. He assumes that Sosoman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adita (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Klementi, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kewenu (G10) as well as Soalufu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 613 571 [163] The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemI, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 613 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 784 428 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] – That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] – That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kin-
613 ship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

– People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
– – of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
– – of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ *Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable.* Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé lo) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju lo, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very 551 disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their 648 European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Enga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi. pay. may even afte the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refuge Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/55 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi libi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

194 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Conomantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /96/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

/42/

125 128 162 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type once where he can be considered as habitually residing.

Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 128 [115] Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that [613] Kuisha, the ancestress of the Awara Bikka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 128 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure, and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./

601 128 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y...., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 814 829 In many African populations a special tradition is connected with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name, the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

193 [126] On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In [814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 602 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 613 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./
114 of the true founderers and the circumstances of the formation of
43 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[048] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear
[123] hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/124 cont./

551 [171] --African names (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

[553] --Some Indian names: Omitkan, Palké. This last name had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Késé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Gounkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[179] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifèst, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Damiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 579 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/128 cont./

593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [469] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 [301] In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papalstoon);

/134 cont./

429 56 861 582 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 884 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 576 601 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion makes research on family life risky as long as one does not possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

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/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

[601]

184 522 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M...., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

Thurault--268 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SRd Boni

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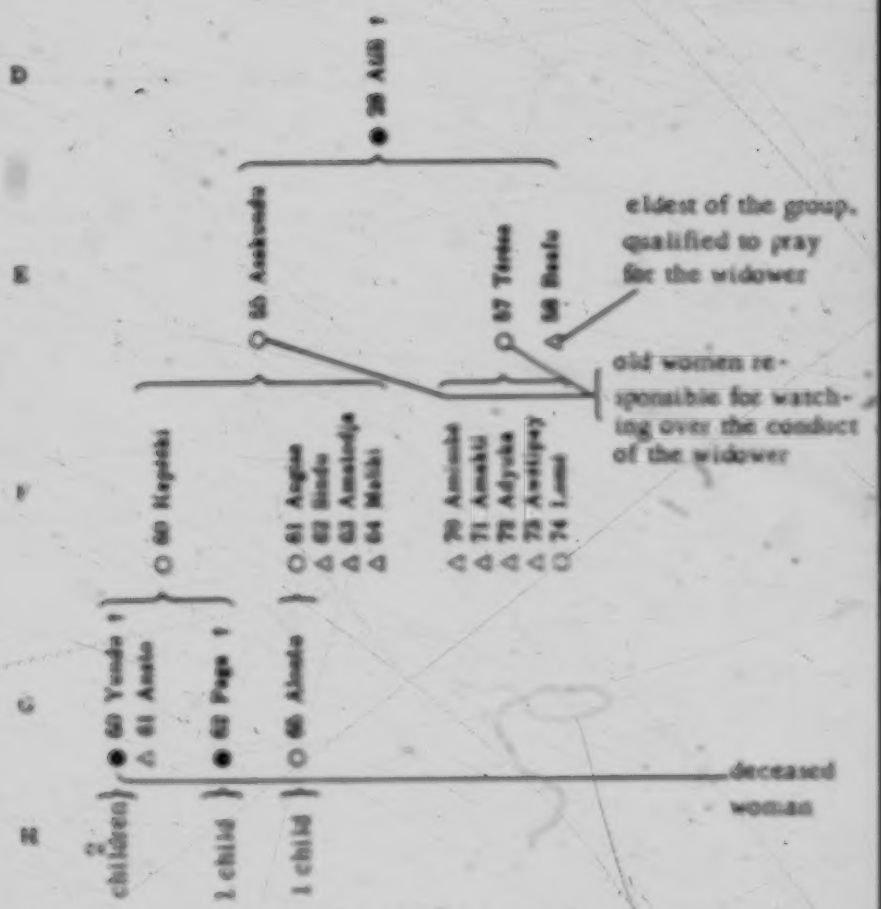


Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundo's death.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

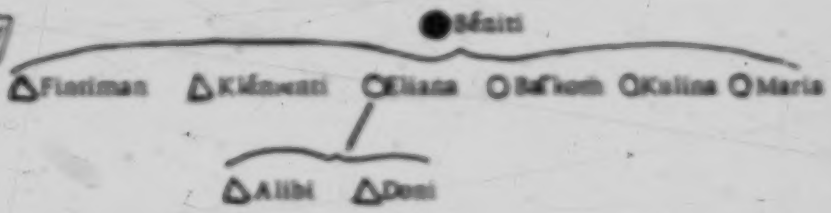
"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures.

[613] [621] Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, [631] who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.